1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

634 643 645 county the senior lieutenants of the county segment are well-known figures, usually headmen of large villages, and often seen at the chief's house. There are also the lieutenants of the segments of lower order founded for their great wives by successive heads of the county segment, and in particular the lieutenants of the reigning chief's great wife's segment. There are individuals who for some reason or other have become friendly with the chief, and there are those occupying posts paid by the Native Treasury. There are the kinsmen of the chief, including the chief's deputy. All these categories contribute to the circle round the chief which keeps him informed of what is going on in his county, advises him what he should do and travels with him on journeys. The constitution of this group is not fixed and there is no formal council to which persons definitely do or do not belong. An Administrative officer once asked Mpezeni II who constituted the tribal council, and the Paramount Chief is said to have found difficulty in thinking of any names. Not all the people who might be expected to advise the chief do so, for there are always quarrels and preferences within each category. In particular, the lieutenants of regal segments seem to play a comparatively minor part. They do not represent the interests of the county as a whole, as do the lieutenants of the county segment, nor of the reigning chief, as do the lieutenants of his own village. They are the favourites of former chiefs and the segments that they represent are not functionally significant under the present scheme of administration.

[648] In recent years the Administration has endeavoured from time to time to discuss affairs with the chiefs and the four newly appointed Native Authority councillors in isolation from the rest of the tribe.[4] In most situations in which matters of common interest are discussed there is, however, no restriction on who can offer advice to the chief or to the meeting. Any man can stand up and say what he wishes, but unless he is in an important social position people will listen to him attentively only if his counsel seems sound.[5]

[605] 634 645 It is the custom for a chief to nominate one of his agnatic kinsmen, usually a father's son or father's brother's son, as his deputy.[6] Although this appears to have been a traditional post, I do not know what role was played by an important man's deputy in pre-conquest times. Nowadays the deputy of a chief may help in his various official duties and represents the interests of the chief's agnatic kin as against those of his lieutenants. In village affairs

[4] See p. 151.
[5] See pp. 158f.
[6] *Mnawa*. cf. Zulu *umnawe*, younger sibling.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4
Wisa FQ5

her by her parents, but the general rule is that people seek their own partners. Certain rules have to be considered by whoever is trying to arrange the match. These determine which marriages are regarded as incestuous, and which marriages are preferred. The kinship relationship, age, ethnic group, and religion of the partner all have to be considered. With the passing of the regimental system, considerations of State no longer affect choice of marriage partner, except for near relatives of the chiefs.

A man may not marry anyone whom he addresses with a kinship term belonging to the first ascending or the first descending generation. This prohibits marriage between ego and his *mothers*, *fathers*, *mothers*, *brothers*, *affines*, and *children*.[1] In his own generation he cannot marry his *child's parents-in-law* and he cannot marry any *sibling* who is not a *cross-cousin*. In the second ascending and descending generation a man may address his female *grandparent* and his female *grandchild* as *wife*, and he can, to a slight extent, joke and refer in general terms to sexual activities in their presence. But Ngoni regard it as a typical Cewa custom for a man actually to marry his female *grandchild*, and do not approve of such marriages among their own people. A man may fondle the breasts of his grandmother and suggest in the company of others at a beer drink that his granddaughter should marry him, but that is as far as this joking goes.

A man is entitled, and to some extent expected, to flirt with his female *cross-cousins*. We have noted above that the Nguni peoples from whom the leaders of the Ngoni kingdom were drawn did not allow cross-cousin marriage. By contrast the Cewa and Wisa peoples, who were captured in large numbers from about 1870 on, came from societies in which local organization was based on bilateral intra-village cross-cousin marriage. In villages where there are now many people claiming Cewa and Wisa descent there are many instances of cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is by no means confined to people of low ethnic status, and even the Paramount Chief has married classificatory cross-cousins. In the aristocratic families it is sometimes suggested that an important man might marry a cross-cousin while still young and unable to muster a large marriage payment and then later marry an unrelated woman as his great wife. No distinction is made between marriage with father's sister's daughter and with mother's brother's daughter. The somewhat equivocal attitude towards cross-cousin marriage is seen in the conflicting statements of informants about payments in cross-cousin marriages. Some say that no payments ought to be made, for are they not all one family (*banja*). If payments were made it would mean that the family had split. Others say that payments can and ought to be made and that provided the cross-

[1] For the definition of these terms, see Barnes, op. cit. pp. 222 ff